## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00

AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 IO-04 L-01 NSAE-00 OIC-02

OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15

TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 ACDE-00 MC-01 /069 W ----- 059125

O P 311830Z OCT 74 FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0555

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

SECRET MBFR VIENNA 0366

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: INCLUSION OF AIR MANPOWER IN COMMON CEILING

WITHOUT REQUIRED AIR REDUCTIONS

REF: USNATO 6041

1. WE APPRECIATE ENERGY AND SKILL WITH WHICH USNATO IS MOVING US POINTS ON AIR MANPOWR IN NATO DISCUSSION. WITH REGARD TO REFTEL, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT NATO CONSIDERATION OF INCLUSION OF AIR MANPOWER IN THE COMMON CEILING WITHOUT REQUIRING AIR REDUCTIONS WOULD BE A USEFUL FURTHER STEP IN BRINGING NATO TO SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF INCLUDING AIR MANPOWER REDUCTIONS IN MBFR AGREEMENTS.

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2. HOWEVER, IT IS DESIRABLE TO BEAR IN MIND THAT

THIS STEP, HOWEVER USEFUL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THINKING WITH THE ALLIANCE, IS NOT LIKELY TO HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT WITHIN THE EAST. FIRST, IF THE EAST CONTINUES TO INSIST ON AIR REDUCTIONS AFTER THE WEST HAS PROPOSED SOME KIND OF UPPER LIMIT ON AIR FORCE MAN-POWER, THE PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE AIR UNDER THE COMMON CEILING WITHOUT OBLIGATORY REDUCTIONS WILL NOT IN PRACTICE MOVE BEYOND THE EARLIER ALLIED POSITION. IN FACT. THIS PROPOSAL WOULD BE DECIDEDLY MORE DISAD-VANTAGEOUS FOR THE EAST THAN THE COMBINATION OF A COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCES WITH AN UPPER LIMIT ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER. UNDER SUCH A COMBINATION, THE EAST WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE THAT THE TOTAL OF PACT AIR FORCE MANPOWER WAS SOME 40,000 MEN HIGHER THAN THAT OF THE ALLIES (40.000 POLISH AND CZECHOSLOVAK GROUND-BASED AREA AIR DEFENSE PERSONNEL MINUS APPROXIMATELY 12,000 PACT PERSONNEL OF GROUND SUPPORT HELICOPTER UNITS, PLUS THE APPROXIMATELY 12,000 MAN SUPERIORITY IN THE PACT AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTAL OVER NATO).

- 3. IF ON THE OTHER HAND AIR FORCE MANPOWER IS BROUGHT UNDER A COMMON CEILING, THEN, BY DEFINITION, BOTH GROUND AND AIR FORCES IN THE AREA WOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE COMMON CEILING AND THE PARITY PRINCIPLE WHICH IS ITS ESSENCE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE TOTAL DISPARITY BETWEEN THE FORCES OF EAST AND WEST WOULD BE INCREASED BY THE SAME 40,000 ADDITIONAL PACT PERSONNEL, MAKING THE COMMON CEILING EVEN MORE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST.
- 4. THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP TO ADVANCE TO THE EAST, FOLLOWING A PROPOSAL FOR AN UPPER LIMIT ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER, IS, IF THE ALLIES DECIDE TO DO SO, OBLIGATORY BUT LIMITED REDUCTIONS OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN ORDER TO HELP REACH A COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA. IN THIS EVENT, AS THE ALLIES WOULD MAKE CLEAR TO THE EAST, THE PACT WOULD HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN FOREGOING THE ADVANTAGE OF THE 40,000 MAN OVERHANG IN AIR FORCES AND ACTUAL REDUCTIONS OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER. THIS FRAMING OF THE CHOICE WOULD MAXIMIZE SECRET

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THE INDUCEMENT FOR THE EAST NOT TO CONTINUE INSISTING ON REDUCTION OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER.RESOR

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